/280 cont./

582 614 five clans contract marriage with three clans. These are: /281/

Bādejeba (Apibore, Ewāguddu, Ārōre)
Bakoro (Paiwe, Apibore, Ārōre)
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Paiwe, Apibore, Ewāguddu)
Apibore (Bādejeba, Bakoro, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)
Ewāguddu (Bādejeba, Ki, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)

two clans contract marriage with two clans:

Paiwe (Bakoro-Bokodori)
Ārōre (Bādejeba-Bōro)

one clan marries with only one clan:

Ki (Ewāguddu)

• 601 [582] The study of kinship terminology permits us to state precisely this system of preferential union. The native vocabulary distinguishes, in fact, for most degrees of kinship, between the elder and younger. Thus:

ogwa umanna: father's elder brother
ogwa uie: father's younger brother
mugā vuri: mother's elder brother
mugā uie: mother's younger brother
ogwa utuge: father's elder sister
ogwa uie: father's younger sister
māna: elder brother
uie: younger brother (or sister)
utuge: elder sister.

On the other hand there is only one term to represent several kinship relations in the following cases:

marūga: ancestor, father's elder sister, mother-in-law (man speaking)
ure: mother's brother, elder brother (woman speaking)
uie: younger brother, male cousin
iędaga: father-in-law, father's father
mugā pega: mother-in-law, father's mother (literally: bad mother).

/282/

582 These identifications permit us to conclude that the matri-
601 monial system is as follows:

A male individual may contract two types of marriage. He will marry either his father's younger sister or his father's elder sister's daughter. In the first case, his father's father is at the same time his father-in-law, and his father's mother, his mother-in-law. In the second case, his father's elder sister is his mother-in-law.

[616] This same individual's sister may not, symmetrically, marry her mother's brother, as they both belong to the same phratry. Her uncle hence enters the category of men whom she cannot marry, and she has only one name to designate her mother's brothers and her own brothers (elder). The combinations open to her are: her mother's brother's son and her elder brother's son. The maternal uncle and the elder brother are thus identified by the young girl as providers of possible spouses. The result is that the men have wives their own age or older, whereas the women have husbands their own age or younger. This is confirmed by [595] experience: the marriage of a woman and of her daughter by a previous marriage to a new husband constitutes the typical case of bigamy among the Bororo.

In addition, three categories of men exist for a woman: those older than she whom she cannot marry (mother's brothers, elder brothers); those younger than she whom she cannot marry (her father's brother's sons, younger brothers); and finally, those of her own age or younger, with whom she can contract marriage.

The Bororo have hence had, at least in the past, two forms of marriage, namely: the cross marriage and the marriage of a nephew with his aunt. It is not possible to say, given the present state of our information, whether these marriages are always rigorously practiced, whether they are contemporaneous, or whether one of these forms represents, in relation to the other, an evolved stage. But with the exception of the typical cross marriage, it is not the mother's brother who is identified with the father-in-law, but the mother's brother's father.

[Cf. analyst's footnote on p. 10--Analyst]

/282 cont./

582 601 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551] [614] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Éwáguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Río Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuẍawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out.

[241] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

4: Levak

SP8 Bororo SP8

601

[Information on kinship terminology may be found in category 116, pp. 9-34, 39-40, 43-74, 77, 80-81, 93, 96-97, 172-173, and 198-221.]

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

/130 cont./

584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
585 to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the
wife, who will receive and will place everything in order,
[601] while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With
this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment
on they will live together, they will call each other by the
names of it'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage
[304] in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related" to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
831 young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
[302] "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[23] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodákwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*yethabátho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for
[283] making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton, using the spindle (*hdlaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokapa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war
[623] leader as well. Although the son of the chief had a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
727 attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

● 601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyakomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishíto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

601 sister (*ashimbé*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *manandó*. (See chart 12.)

582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other families. After marriage a young man lives with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.

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[606]

[627]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aípuku*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabála* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aípuku* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the Umotina—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the Umotina. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabála* asked *Aípuku* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*wasé*), and out of the other, the *abasé*, or enemy Indian tribes.

[P. 108 (1)]

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INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL—OBERG

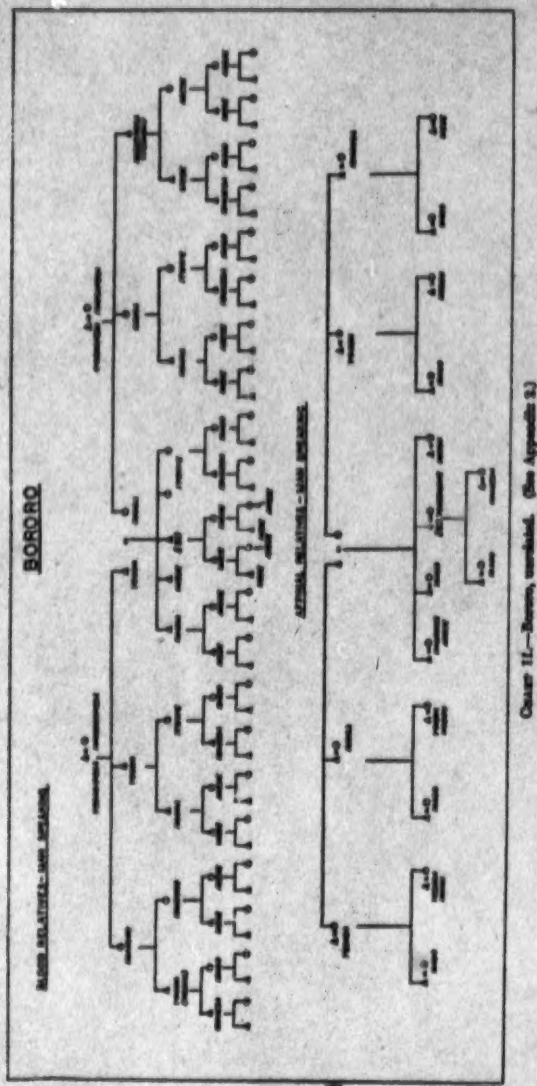

Chart II.—Bororo, unrelated. (See Appendix 2.)

[p.121]

601
1917

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
Borore SPB

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[P. 122]

UMOTINA
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
BLOOD RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING

CHART 12.—Umotina, related to Borors. *Ati* (brother) is considered more respectful than *Amandi*. *Amiondo* is used to designate younger brothers. *Amiódo* and *Akoló* designate younger sisters. *Purepe* is added to *Mowandé* to designate son or grandson. *Owanté* is added to *Mowandé* to designate daughter or granddaughter.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

601 The Bororo are divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties—*Cherâide* and *Tugarégede*. 616 A man in the *Tugarégede* moiety calls all men of his own moiety *tugarége* and all women *tugarêre*. He calls men of the *Cherâide* moiety *cherâi* and women *cherâre*. One's opposites can be collectively called *yorubúdare*, or if they are small children, *yorubúdarédrogo; drógo* meaning little.

601 There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*yógwa*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *yógwa* is old he becomes a grandfather (*yógwapéga*). If one marries *yógwa's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

[582] Women of the opposite side are called mothers-in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If 601 old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That 616 is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*. Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toredúche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

In one's own moiety the men are generally classed as brothers (*imána*) with distinctions for younger and older brother (initiated or uninitiated). Older men are *imánapega* or *yedága*, father-in-law or initiator. Grandfather is *yedágapega;* mother's brothers are *yedága;* father's sister's

[p. 127 (B)]

daughter's husband is also *yeddga*. Boys are *mede*, girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *inúga;* sisters before puberty, *itwíye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

Cheráide clans

1. Bokodóri.
2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Boróteherá.
6. Ócbera.

Tugaréde clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tehibú-giwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tohóreu.
   b. Kúdjagureu.
3. Apibóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

[p. 127 (c)]

Chart 11.—Brown, continued. (See Appendix 2.)

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP#
[P.129-A]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

616 601 The Bororo are divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties—*Cherdíde* and *Tugarégede*. A man in the *Tugarégede* moiety calls all men of his own moiety *tugarége* and all women *tugarére*. He calls men of the *Cherdíde* moiety *cherdi* and women *cherdre*. One's opposites can be collectively called *yorubúdare*, or if they are small children, *yorubúdarédrogo; drógo* meaning little.

There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*yógwa*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *yógwa* is old he becomes a grandfather (*yógwapéga*). If one marries *yógwa's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

Women of the opposite side are called mothers-in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*. Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toreduche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

In one's own moiety the men are generally classed as brothers (*imána*) with distinctions for younger and older brother (initiated or uninitiated). Older men are *imánapega* or *yeddga*, father-in-law or initiator. Grandfather is *yeddgapega;* mother's brothers are *yeddga;* father's sister's

[P.127-B]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

6/6 daughter's husband is also *yeddga*. Boys are *meddo*,
● 6/7 girls are *arédo*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagédo*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagédo* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *inágo*; sisters before puberty, *ikwágo*; and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

[8/1] Children before puberty are just *meddo* (boy) and *arédo* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagédo* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréda*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[8/1] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. After this, sister's son is called *iwagédo*. After the [8/1] ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

6/2 6/4

Chorédo clans	*Tugarédo* clans
1. Bokodéri.	1. Aréri.
2. Bakóro.	a. Arurécha bógi wógi.
3. Baddjebage.	b. Arurécha tchibé-giwógi.
4. Kiédo.	2. Iwagudodgi.
5. Boréteberá.	a. Tokóro.
6. Ócbera.	b. Kódjegowo.
	3. Apibówogi.
	4. Ipagédo.